5: Brodrick--71 S-3 (1939) 1942 Laotians
116, 197, 174

"Siam has territorial ambitions. The Thai irredentists claim the Laos country (for the Laotians speak a language akin to Siamese, and they are evidently a Thai tribe left north when the ancestors of the present-day Siamese settled in the Menam plains), and they dream of lordship over the Thôs and all the Thai-speakers wherever they may be found—from the Burmese Shan States far into South-western China.

'You see,' said one of the Siamese to me, 'these people understand perfectly what I say.' And the stocky Thôs certainly did seem to have a general idea of what he was talking about."

10: d'Orleans--275-276 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 101, 173, 197, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"They [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian.] are easily recognised as Laotians, but they appear inferior and weaker, though they are lively and prepossessing; they originally came from Ban Lasa (near Muong Ngoi), but they call themselves Khamouks, and count seven principal tribes of Kas; but their dialects differ, so that several of them cannot understand each other.

The Kasings (whose language approaches that of the Yaos).
The Khakos.
The Khabits. [276]
The Khakoos.
The Kahoks (who wear cotton drawers as their only garment).
The Khapai's,
The Khamouks.

They say that they do not know anything of their history, but add: that the Laotians are their brothers, therefore the Kas had compassion upon them and retired to the mountains, leaving the plain and the young shoots of bamboo to them."

10: d'Orleans--316-319 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 101, 173, 197, 771, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"The Meos live upon the eastern frontier of the kingdom, close to the Pouons plateau. I never met any in the town, but I had an opportunity of [pages 317 and 318 contain illustration] [319] conversing with one who was employed by M. Counillon, the French consul. He was a man of small stature, but well proportioned, with very pale complexion and regular features, and he told me that the Meos originally came from China and could make themselves understood by the caravan-men from the Yunnam. I gathered from his expressions that the Meos dialect is very like that of Van Bou, the word Meos, being rather the Laos designation, while they call themselves Mongs. I do not know whether this name has any connection with that of the ancient empire of the Mongs and the Möns of Burmah, but, according to the man with whom I conversed, the tribes to which he belongs have no religious creeds, though there is a word in his language which denotes the Deity."

10: d'Orleans--316 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 175, 197, 241, 511, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"In speaking of the inhabitants of the principality of Luang Prabang, I referred to the Lus, the Meos and the Chinese, and a few words must be said about all three.

The first mentioned strike me as being, from an ethnographical point of view, very similar to the Laotians, whose language they speak, with a few slight differences of dialect, but they are smaller, punier and in a more poverty-stricken state. We saw one of their villages, just behind Luang Prabang, and its poverty was the most salient feature about it. Coming originally from Sibsompanas, where they form the principal element of the population, they have been driven south by Chinese wars and invasions, and several of them told me that they had not the means of returning home. Moreover, they are just as well off where they are, for, like the Kas, they cultivate the soil, planting rice fields for the Laotians."

15: Benedict--381-382 L-5 (no date) 1947 Laotians-1-2
116, 175, 197

"Lao, a Thai language spoken throughout most of the middle Mekong basin (Laos), is a much more recent as well as more successful invader of Indochina. The early home of the Thai peoples was southern and southwestern China, whence they migrated southward and eastward into present-day Siam and Indochina. The Lao, together with the Siamese, made up the southern front of this expansion, which at the turn of the first millenium A. D. began to exert gradually increasing pressure on the Mon-Khmer civilization to the south. The famous Rama Khamheng inscription of 1292, the earliest monument of the Siamese language, signalizes the final disruption of Mon-Khmer civilization by the economically and politically more aggressive Thai culture. Other Thai groups, smaller and less cohesive, made their way eastward into the mountainous areas of northern and western Tonkin. Linguistically these groups are represented by Tho, Black Tai, and White Tai. Thai languages are also spoken through much of southern China (Dioi, Nung), in Burma (Shan, Khamti), and until recent times were even represented far to the west in Assam (Ahom). They are monosyllabic and tonal like Chinese, and a Thai-Chinese language family has traditionally been accepted by most scholars. On closer view, however, the basic root affinities appear to lie with Indonesian (Malayo-Polynesian) rather than with Chinese, the Chinese lexical elements belong to a later cultural horizon and must be ragarded as [382] ancient borrowings--contrast, for example, Thai *nok 'bird,' Indonesian * manuk 'fowl, bird.' with Thai *kai, Chinese *kiei 'fowl' (the domesticated bird, belonging to a later cultural level). Chinese, it would

seem, exerted a dominant influence on Thai as regards monosyllables and tones, while Thai in turn exercised a similar influence on Annamese (see the discussion below). (3)

3. See the discussion in P.K. Benedict, 'Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia,' American anthropologist, 44 (1942), 576-601.

Here we are presented with a striking example of the intricate patterning shown in the linguistic and cultural history of Southeast Asia."

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601
●

ALl Southeast Asia
Lahu AP13
● Laotians AM8

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Lahu and Laotians, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict: category 116, pp. 198-205, 230-235./

It is generally admitted that towards the beginning of our era I
the geographical distribution of the /22/ /C. A. M. Translator's L
note. Page 22 is entirely devoted to a map: "The Indo-Chinese 162
Peninsula in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries."/ /23/ 174
various populations which inhabited Indo-China was approximately as follows:

The Chams inhabited southern Annam;

The Kmers occupied not only the present-day Cambodian region, but probably also present-day Cochinchina and the greater part of Laos;

The Burmese, in conjunction with their Tibetan congeners, were doubtless already established along the Upper Irrawaddy, and the Pégouans (Mon or Talain, related to the Kmers) in the lower valley of this river;

The Thaïs, who came from central Asia and were divided into six native principalities or "tchao," occupied Yunnan;

Finally, the Annamites occupied the north of Annam and Tonkin, which were organized as a Chinese province (1).

1. Cf. R. Grousset, Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient, pp. 285, 287, 548 and 549. "The study of phonetics has led H. Maspero to find that Annamite is related to the Thaï /197/
family." (Ibid., p. 599.)

His first concern was with repairing the disasters of the in- 727
vasion, which were immense. The capital had been sacked and 643*
the people had fled into the forests. The fruits of a long century 175*
of peace had been almost completely destroyed, and everything had to be begun anew. For their part, the Annamites had suffered irreparable losses. The chronicles of Auguste Pavie say that when the king of Annam learned of the results of the expedition he "had a great grief because all those who had set out for the war (and /69/ had not come back) were the leaders and best people in the country." He deeply regretted having disobeyed the orders of their common ancestor Khoun-Borom (1) and forbade that in the future

1. Legend here agrees with certain philologists in attributing 197
Thaï origins to the Annamite race. (Cf. above, p. 23, note 1.)

"war should be waged against brothers."

This commentary is Laotian, and it cannot be shown that the 727
Annamites judged the adventure in so highly philosophic a manner. 175*
Whatever the case, this bloody struggle did not have any after-effects. It left no rancor in the heart of the fundamentally peaceful and carefree people of Lan-Xang, who were only too happy to have escaped a mortal danger and to be able to resume their nonchalant life singing. The court itself, shaken by intrigues and passions which were unknown to the common people, never had any idea of reprisals and resumed relations which rapidly became excellent again with the court of Annam.

What is more, the solid armature of the kingdom forged by the great princes of the preceding century hastened the recovery of the country, which had partly regained its former prosperity and its /70/ preeminent position among the Thaï principalities when King Thène-Kham died prematurely in his palace of Xieng-Thong in 1486.

LA-SÈNE-THAÏ (1463), KING 1486-1496.

His brother La-Sène-Thaï succeeded him and devoted the ten 643*
years of his reign to perfecting the work undertaken both at home 648*
and abroad. He particularly strengthened the ties of family and 175*
friendship which bound him to the king of Ayuthya and furthered trade exchanges between his subjects and their cousins on the Ménam (transit points were settled by common agreement for trading

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At the present time labor is what is needed to place under cultivation the land which is still lying fallow. Indeed, scarcely 30,000 311
square kilometers are cultivated out of the 80,000 which could be used. Once placed under cultivation these 50,000 square kilometers (1) could support from [126] 500,000 to 600,000 new inhabitants,

(1) About 15,000 square kilometers in northern Laos and 35,000 in southern Laos.

at the rate of ten or twelve inhabitants per square kilometer.

2. RACES

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144
The population of Laos can be divided into four large distinct categories. These are:
197
1. The Thais, that is to say, all the people who speak, write or understand the Thai language with a few slight differences either in pronunciation, the construction of words, orthography or writing. This race is subdivided into several types or varieties which are: The Laotians (or Lao or Phou-Lao) (1).

(1) We have created the word Laotian by derivation to designate the inhabitants of Laos in general, but in reality there is one variety of the Thai family, the most numerous one moreover, which bears the name Lao or Phou-Lao. The whole of the region included in the Mékong basin above Cambodia and in the basin of the Upper Ménam is called Muong-Lao, Xieng-Lao, or land inhabited by the Phou-Lao.

The Phou-Thais.
The Khao-Thais.
The Dam-Thais.
The Dèng-Thais.
The Neua-Thais.
The Phou-Eunes.
The Youns.
The Lus.

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144
197

2. The Khas (2) or descendants of the prehistoric aborigines.

(2) In Laos the word Kha means slave, individual of inferior and scornful condition, or else one who lives as a savage. The name, which was applied by the last invaders of Laos to the races which had preceded them there, has the same meaning as Moï in Annamite, Stieng or Peunong in Cambodian and Orang Oulou in Malay.

They mixed with newcomers to form a large variety of secondary tribes which, despite their common origin, differ from one another in type, language, dialect or idiom, mores, customs, dress, etc.

[771
212]

The Khas have no form of writing, except for the Khouènes and the Khmous who have been partly converted to Buddhism while their [127] fellows have clung to a crude fetishism in which belief in spirits (Phis) prevails.

[641]

A few of these tribes have not yet submitted to our domination and do not pay any taxes.

The principal Kha tribes in Laos are the following:

a) In northern Laos. (The names below should be followed by the word Khas.)

1. PURE KHAS

Khouènes-Khao.	Koussoungs.	Bos.	Kouangs.
Khouènes-Dam.	Bits.	Sapouans.	Saks.
Lemets.	Phèng-Mis.	Kasèngs.	Mouçeus.
Leups.	Sos.	Tiols.	Khmous.
Lawas.	Siengs-Di.	Alous.	
Khos.	Gioïs.	Ouxas.	
Khouïs.	Hock-Roï.	Panas.	

2. KHAS MIXED WITH LAOTIANS, THAIS, LUS AND YOUNS OR IN THE COURSE OF CHANGE

Oks.	Sos.	Phongs.	Phou-Thuongs.
Youngs.	Souês.	Laos-Nîos.	Phou-Oks.
Phou-Phays.	Sèks.	Phou-Thengs.	

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197

3. KHAS MIXED WITH HÔS, MÉOS AND YAOS

Khas-Hôs.	Lolos.
Ounis.	Sidas.
Hô-Kias.	

b) In southern Laos.

1. PURE KHAS

Djarais.	Mane.	Katongs.	Cédangs.
Nia-Heuns.	Halang-Doang.	Katangs.	Radès.
Alaks.	Salengs.	Niès.	Habans.
Tiem Poueuns.	Peunongs.	Phou-Khaos.	Goclars.
Lovès.	Tha-Hoïs.	Khon-Tou.	Bahnars.
Braos.	Vèhs.	Banams.	Rognacs.
Souks.	Sos.	Bos.	Sèks.
Sengs.	Hin.		

[128] #### 2. KHAS WHO ARE LAOTIAN-IZED OR IN COURSE OF CHANGE

Bolovens.	Pou-Bathiengs.	Lovès-Lao.	Phou-Oks.
Ongs.	Toueis.	Souk-Khok.	Phou-Phays.
Pou-Thongs.	Laos-Niôs.	Souk-Nîa.	Phou-Thuongs.

3. The Mongols who have immigrated from Yunnan.

TRIBES OF MONGOL ORIGIN FROM NEIGHBORING LANDS

Hôs.	Méos-Dam.	Yaos-Lantènes (black)
Méos-Khao.	Méos-Dèng.	Yaos-Khao (horned)
		Yaos-Ao-Tchaine (with sapeks)

4. The foreign Asiatics.

Annamites.	Burmese.	Kunes.
Cambodians.	Yunnanese.	Tsongs-Sous.
Siamese.	Ngieous or Nuons.	Malays.
Chinese.		

Kha

177 Notice should also be taken of the transformation which has been
563 going on for half a century or so, in the fusion of Khas with Lus,
144 Laos and Thais. From these fusions have emerged the mixed-blood races which are known as Phou-Thèngs, Phou-Thilongs, Soués, Phongs, Phou-Oks, Laos-Nios, etc. [137] [Illustration] [138] [Blank page]

[139] Later on in 1898 and 1899 the 1894 experiment was tried once more, thanks to the intelligent initiative taken by the Superior Commandant in Upper Laos. His Majesty the king of Luang-Prabang proclaimed the emancipation of the Khas in his kingdom on both banks of the Mékong and even of those who, while natives of Luang-Prabang, are employed in Siam in the lumber camps of the upper Ménam valley.

In résumé, the Khas of French Laos are anything but a negligible quantity, but rather constitute a force and a reserve of energy from which we may draw great profit.

3. LANGUAGES

197 It is impossible here to examine in detail the many Kha idioms
194 and dialects, which only a long and attentive special study could succeed in coordinating, in grouping by similarities and in identifying with other languages, idioms and dialects which contributed to their formation.

The Kha dialects have harsh consonant sounds, among which the R and K are particularly noticeable, in contrast to what is the case in the other forms of the Thai language spoken in Laos where R, except in Siamese, is replaced by L or H.

Insofar as it is possible to judge, the primitive languages must have been corrupted when the land was invaded by foreigners. From that time on they dissolved, changed and became subdivided into idioms, and then into varied dialects. Besides the regional and racial
211 idioms and the various local dialects the Khas, who do not (except for the Khouènes) have any form of writing, use various means to translate their thoughts, and symbolic objects such as strips of wood in which they make notches in accordance with a conventional system.

This method may be compared to that of a great many illiterate persons, who sometimes succeed in keeping quite complicated accounts by this means.

If one were to entrust a letter to a Kha courier, for example, one [140] would give him the following symbolic objects grouped together:

Kha

two strips of rattan, two feathers from the wing of a chicken or any other bird, two dry red peppers and two pieces of partly burned charcoal. The significance of these objects would be as follows: if the bearer of the letter does not make haste to deliver his message he will be whipped, whence the rattan; the feathers remind him that he must have the speed of a bird, together with the ardent fire of spices (the red pepper); and finally the charcoal means that he must even keep going at night by lighting torches or making a fire.

The Khmou Kha idiom, among others, is quite widespread, especially in the territory to the northwest of Luang-Prabang where it is in current use for relations between groups which do not speak the same dialect. These idioms are highly rudimentary, moreover, and do not lend themselves to the expression of ideas which are at all subtle or abstract.

Some of them are even composed of only two or three hundred words, invariable in form, the use of which naturally does not involve any grammatical rule.

The Thai language is the fundamental tongue of Laos. It is spoken and written in five variotonic and graphic forms which vary from one another by slight differences in detail, that is to say by differences which bear much more on graphic and phonetic representation than on syntax.

Classified by order of highest development from the point of view of their ability to translate thought, these forms of the Thai language are Siamese, Laotian, Youn, Lu and Phouthai.

In order to give some idea of the gradation which there is between these different forms in the way of alphabetic wealth, variety of accentuation and flexibility of phonetic nuances, we might say that Phouthai is to Siamese what Montaigne's French is to the present-day language.

Siamese is Thai which has been perfected, stabilized phonetically, enriched and complicated alphabetically to such a point as to enable it to translate European languages almost literally.

But although Siamese is easy to read correctly, writing it is extremely complicated by reason of its highly varied tones and the profusion of its accentuation.

[141] The Phouthai language. Phouthai, on the other hand, and we refer here to the written language rather than the present-day spoken language, is rather a primitive form of Thai from the graphic point of view.

This is doubtless due to the use of the brush, which does not make it possible to draw characters as fine and as purely rounded as with a dry point, a wooden stylus, a pen or a pencil, which are the only instruments used to write the other varieties of the Thai language. 212 197

Phouthai, like Laotian, is written in characters, but these differ in number and in form. The vowels are intercalated between the consonants, or are placed like accents above the line when the consonant stands alone, or may even always be placed above in the case of some vowels. This way of understanding the use of vowels can also be found in certain primitive languages.

In the regions where Phouthai writing is used the influence of the proximity of Annam and China has clearly manifested itself, and the alphabet has become syllabic. Scholars are able to learn by heart a certain number of syllables in which consonants and vowels are joined to form a single character, but those who have not learned Laotian cannot distinguish between the vowels and consonants nor use them separately. [101]

The Phouthais, who have the same basic spoken language as the Laotians but who have a different writing and religion, must either have separated from the primitive groupings before writing was created and have attained sufficient cohesion to create their own form of writing, or else must have learned it in a perfected state of development through some foreign current. It may also be said that when the Laotians adopted the Buddhist religion they lost their old Phouthai signs and took over those of the bonzes who had come to teach them the new faith. Then the brush was abandoned for the stylus and the point, which make it possible to write more rapidly and finely and to form a greater number of signs--these being necessary, moreover, to express and define the abstract ideas and subtle dogmas of the new religion. [177] [195]

[142] The Phouthai alphabet includes only twenty-three characters, almost all of which are syllabic.

The Siamese language. Of all the forms of the Thai language, Siamese, as we have seen, is the most complete and the most highly developed. Thus it will perhaps be of interest to give some notion, as rapidly as possible, of this language. 212 194

The alphabet is composed of forty-four letters which are divided into three classes, as follows:

11 letters on a rising tone, or high letters;
9 letters on a middle tone, or recto tono middle letters;

197 In résumé, the study of the Thai language and its derivatives is an attractive one. The language is gentle, musical and euphonic, and is easy for us as well as for the other Latin peoples to pronounce.

It is considered to have many analogies with Malay and most of the Polynesian idioms.

Siamese, Youn and Lu have become localized in certain parts of Laos or have been set aside for special uses. Thus Youn, as we have seen, is the sacred language of Laos.

Lao, however, or the Laotian form of the Thai language, is quite widespread.

[146] In fact, outside of Laos this language is still spoken in Yunnan, in Tonkin, in the two Kouangs and, it would seem, as far away as Hainan.

4. RELIGIONS

174 In prehistoric times Laos must have been in the same situation as the other parts of the world, from the moral and religious point 771 of view. [Illustration here.]

In the age of polished stone, as in the bronze age, there were probably great similarities between the Orient and the Occident with respect to tools and weapons, and also with respect to speculative, religious and philosophical ideas.

175 This state of affairs continued for many centuries until the time when, with the first peaceful migrations from the north and north- 771 west, Vedic precepts and a knowledge of the laws of Manou--laws which were moral, social and above all physiological--began to infiltrate the region. Later on, between 900 and 700 B.C., more militant invaders brought in the already age-old dogmas of Brahminism, together with ancestor worship and many superstitions.

Finally, after another period of fifteen to thirteen centuries, Buddhism made its appearance in Indo-China by two different routes, the south and the northwest.

771 These various doctrines were transformed as time passed and underwent additions, diminutions and numerous changes both in form and content. Struggles, invasions and migrations and civil wars profoundly modified races and made their impression on minds, always leaving ineradicable traces on body and spirit.

It is because of these constant upheavals that we note in Laos today a great host of dogmas and practices which range all the way

Kha

caught even on the other side of the watershed and then delivered as slaves to the Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian and Laotian merchants of the low country. The barbarity of their mores has been greatly lessened since our arrival in Laos, but traces of it still exist and manifest themselves in rivalries and attacks between tribes. The police force which [260] we have organized in the land in the form of a native militia, the influence of the missionaries who have settled among the turbulent Khas, and also the help and example of the tribes which have submitted to our tutelary authority will soon cause this abnormal state of things to disappear. Finally, our increasingly effective occupation of the land, which has been completed by the organization of the province of Darlac, and the strict protectorate which we exercise over Cambodia, the chief purchaser of slaves, have begun to bring order in an effective fashion to this shameful traffic in human flesh (1).

(1) See § I of Chapter XI.

It should be noted that the Djarais and the Rades are the only Khas who speak Cham, that is to say a greatly corrupted Malay tongue which they have preserved for centuries.

The men's clothing consists of a loin-cloth, and that of the women consists only of a short skirt knotted around the waist or under the armpits, the torso left bare.

Both men and women have long hair wound in a coil. Both sexes, but mainly the men, wear jewels of a crude shape, made of tin or brass, in the form of bracelets, neckbands, ear pendants or cylinders and hairpins. They are also very fond of glass bead necklaces.

These Khas smoke tobacco, either dried or green, as well as bamboo shavings impregnated with nicotine. They make terra cotta pipes with highly worked bowls and also use imported brass pipes. They do not blacken their teeth.

From the point of view of diet and housing, practically the same conditions obtain as we have seen above except that the houses are built with greater care and arranged in the form of a circular camp.

In the middle of Cedang and Rognao villages there is a large house some twenty to thirty meters long by twelve to fifteen meters wide, with a high pointed roof. This is the common house where all the boys of the locality live from the age of nine or ten until the day of their marriage.

Meo

[197]

The Meos have several dialects in their particular language. Their musical instruments are reduced to two: a kind of bagpipe 534 resembling the Laotian organ, but in which the frame is metal and the sounds sharper; and a smaller instrument which is nearly identical with the toy known in France as a jew's-harp.

535 To the accompaniment of their instruments, the Meos dance something reminiscent of the bear dance. (Le Laos français, 1900, Schneider Hanoi.) [Lieutenant-colonel Tournier (Superior Resident in Laos), Notice sur le Laos français.]